1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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125 miles away from Jamshedpur, the nearest major city. The fol-
184 lowing frequences of the different forms of marriage were ob-
583 tained from this sample:

DB	*SB*	*TD*	*NB*	*Total Number*
5 (10%)	20 (40%)	9 (18%)	16 (32%)	50 (100%)

182 Since the four varieties of marriage are graded in terms of cost,
434 it is reasonable to plot farmer's per capita income against mar-
583 riage form chosen to determine the degree to which income is associated with the form chosen. The figures given in Table 2 are in terms of maunds of husked paddy per person per year after taxation. A maund weighs approximately eighty lbs.

Converting these figures into percentages, one notes that eighty per cent of *DB* fall in the greater-than-thirty-maund category, eighty per cent of *SB* in the greater-than-ten-maund category, 55 per cent of *TD* in the greater-than-ten-maund category, and only twelve per cent of *NB* in the greater-than-ten-maund category. The association between marriage form and per capita income is obvious and consistent throughout. It suggests that per capita income is the largest single determinant of marriage-type choice.

182 Of the other possible countable determinants, the possibility
583 that having either a father or a mother alive at the time of
593 marriage might be significant was considered, since there were

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125 information we requested. The same sampling procedure was used in the case
184 of the *bustee* residents living in the *bustee* at the time of marriage. The nine-
583 teen were obtained from two villages in Mayurbhanj; fifteen of these were from Fanderkuta and the other four from the control village. In Fanderkuta the sample seemed ideal since data was obtained from every male in one "Section" (*tola* as in Hindi) of the village. However, over half of these informants had ultimately to be excluded from the sample since they had worked in surrounding mines prior to marriage.

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TABLE 2

CHOICE OF MARRIAGE FORM BY FARMERS BY PER CAPITA INCOME

Maunds per capita	*Marriage Forms*				*Income Class Total*
	DB	*SB*	*TD*	*NB*	
0–10	0	4	4	10	18
11–20	0	11	3	3	17
21–30	1	5	1	2	9
31–40	2	0	1	0	3
41	2	0	0	1	3
Total Number of Marriages	5	20	9	16	50

a few cases of comparatively well-off Santal without parents who had had an *NB*, and who explained that there was no one to arrange a marriage for them. Among the fifty sampled there were only six whose parents were both dead at the time of marriage. There were only three cases in which the father was living at the time of marriage and the mother not, and there were twenty-one cases in which only the mother was alive; however, there were no significant differences in these cases. It was therefore concluded that having a parent alive is seldom a determinant of marriage-type choice and that it is not generally relevant which parent is alive.[4]

One other type of countable information had to be considered: whether there was a shift in frequency during the forty-four-year period 1913 to 1957 in which these marriages occurred. The assembled data indicate that there were no sig-

[4] It might be significant in the very expensive *DB* but my sample was too small to detect its relevance.

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nificant shifts in frequency during this period, nor were there any appreciable changes in the distribution of per capita income.

Before considering comparable data from the *bustee*, it is necessary to examine other partial determinants of marriage-type choice so that a controlled comparison can be made. The most significant of these secondary determinants derives from the expectation by the Santal community that members of high standing will validate their status by arranging high forms of marriage—*DB* or *SB*—for their children. These marriages are the occasion for great "pleasure" and the villagers would feel deprived if their "big people" (*maraṅ hoṛ*) were to deny them this opportunity. Since inherited office confers prestige and is partially independent of wealth, it may be presumed, though adequate statistical evidence is lacking, that the holders of hereditary office often feel compelled to choose more expensive forms than income alone would dictate. In support of this contention is the observation that of the seven *DB* of which I have knowledge, all involved the marriage of a son of a hereditary village officer and one was the son of a headman. Although shared values and understandings are prominent determinants of marriage type, idiosyncratic differences such as the desire for prestige may occasionally prove decisive. "Accidents" of contact and personality may compel a young couple to enter into a "love marriage" (*NB*) against parental wishes. Finally, there is the Santal belief that the higher the form of marriage, the greater its chances of lasting. It is possible, therefore, that differences in desire for marriage stability are a factor in marriage form chosen.

From the *bustees* a sample of forty-seven was obtained, with the majority from Daredih and the rest from nearby *bustees*. All were industrial workers living in a *bustee* at the time of

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178 sent home at that time a larger portion of their income than
184 their fellows. Part of the money sent home was expended in
583 the celebration of arranged marriages, which for immigrant workers almost always take place in their native villages. The relatively large amount of money sent home by those who had arranged marriages reflects exceptionally strong ties with the native village; however, even most of these workers have subsequently reduced their rural contribution as their own nuclear-family requirements increased.

182 The crucial fact indicated by the following table is that if
• 434 one adds the industrial income of the workers at the time of
583 their marriage to the farm income of their rural families, the
184 combined per capita income is higher than that of the sample farmers. Since they must maintain separate households, these figures somewhat overstate available income for the workers. They clearly indicate, however, that the shift to *NB* cannot be attributed in any appreciable degree to lower income. Indeed even if one were to calculate per capita income of the *bustee* workers and their farming families solely on the rural income, the shift to *NB* could still not be accounted for simply by income.

Since those few migrant industrial workers who did have arranged marriages in fact sent home a large portion of their income before marrying, the inclusion of these resources in comparing marriage types seems realistic. Whereas farmers with per capita incomes of over ten maunds have only about 37% *NB*, 82% of the workers with similar income enter into such marriages. This comparison gives some indication of the degree to which the shift to *NB* runs counter to available income.

What must be explained is the shift away from the more

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TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF PER CAPITA INCOME OF *BUSTEE* WORKERS AND THEIR FARMING FAMILIES WITH THAT OF PREVIOUS FARMER SAMPLE

(Income Categories in Maunds Per Capita)*

	0–10	*11–20*	*20*	*Total*
Farmers	36	34	30	100%
Workers	21	34	45	100%

expensive and prestigeful arranged forms of marriage, especially the SB form, to the cheaper, less prestigeful unarranged *NB* in spite of increased per capita income. Furthermore, the evidence indicates that the primary cause cannot be new values gradually applied after taking up new employment. The key factors responsible are spatial separation from parents or guardians and an independent income. Although the *bustee* Santal maintains his connections with family in the native village and seldom requests a division of the land, his independent income provides him with the *de facto* opportunity to spend as he pleases. Physical distance from his kin frees him from their social control and the supporting authority of the villagers. The shift to *NB* by the *bustee* Santal may then be viewed partially as a decision not to share the major part of their income with their rural extended families. In the village they would not have the financial independence to make such a choice, nor would the social relations with kin and villagers permit such a choice even with a separate income if they continued to live in the village. This interpretation is corroborated

* Industrial cash income was converted into husked paddy according to the prevailing price of rice at the time of marriage and added to farm income in husked rice after taxation.

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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by data on marriage obtained from those factory workers for whom the bustee is the native village. Of five such individuals, all had arranged *SB* marriages and had poured the major share of their income prior to marriage into the family coffers. Hence, it takes migration plus the separate income derived from industrial employment to produce a shift to love marriage.

Given that the conditions of migration to industrial employment provide an opportunity for the prospective groom to choose what form of marriage he desires, the question of why he tends to choose the unarranged *NB* remains. The answer appears to be that migration to industrial employment makes marriage primarily a matter of individual concern. In a variety of ways it weakens bonds with extended family, local lineage, and village. Since the bride will not live in the household or the village of the groom's parents, i.e., his native village, neither the parents nor the villagers are so concerned with her. Furthermore, residence in the *bustee* which, as we shall see, is not so solidary as a village, does not facilitate the reciprocal visiting between kin and fellow villagers of the couple which would normally follow a marriage tie. Since migration to industrial employment weakens traditional bonds of solidarity, it not only gives the prospective groom an opportunity to choose an unarranged marriage; it also makes groom, bride, kinsmen, and fellow villagers less desirous of an arranged marriage. All those social ties which are so dramatically expressed in marriage ceremonies and which are consistent with arranged marriages are virtually inoperative for migrants to the *bustee*. Unarranged marriages thus considered are a result of decreased solidarity resulting from migration to industrial employment.

Other considerations may be partially responsible for the

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 6 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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Jòmak' ñunyak' bòeha bànuk' taleya,
Mènt' ñèpèl bòeha ahajibà.
Akal kèdae gateñ sāwanek'edae
Irà ránu gateñ, bale ñawana,
Sanam hòpòniñko ḍiñgàṛ cabayen.

(Translation)

Welcome, welcome! O friends dear!
(We have) neither food nor drink to offer.
But we offer you our greetings,
(It matters little whether) the harvest
failed or it was in plenty;
For want of seeds (and consequent want
of food)
All my sons have nothing of their own.

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Out to trace variations in Mayurbhanj from the Santals in the Santal Parganas, we were somewhat pleased to see that their houses were better built and more commodious, but the inner economic structure told the self-same tale as in the folk-song.

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We selected some villages at random and questioned the Santals (without claiming for ourselves the functions of the economic surveyor) on the point. But

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they replied, "We are very poor. Our average agricultural income is from Rs. 5 to 6 per month. Those more industrious supplement it by working as day labourers which may bring them Rs. 3 more. But about half of the population are indebted to

31 Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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mahajans and many of us run to the tea-gardens to earn a living.'"[1]

Statistics sheds further light on the condition of the cattle, the mainstay of an agricultural population. "A large section of the aborigines consisting of the Santals, and the Bhumijs, and forming about 50 per cent of the population, do not care for milk as an item of nutrition. This perhaps contributes to a certain extent to their indifference to the improvement of cattle. Even as beasts of burden or as instruments of husbandry, the cattle in the state are very poor in quality."[2] So depending on such ricketty props, they can only turn out paddy and thereafter "biri" (*mug* pulse), in pathetic ignorance of supplementary means of livelihood like cottage-industries.

Little wonder that with such limited means of livelihood and scanty fare as we have already noticed they offer little resistance to intoxication. Their wants and worries weigh upon them so much that they take to drunken forgetfulness to drown their

1 Ref. *Census Report of Mayurbhanj*, 1931, p. 10, which reads "During the last decade 1,497 coolies belonging to this State were recruited for work in the tea-gardens by the garden-sirdars."

2 There are in all 600,000 heads of cattle in the State (Total population 8089,603) page 7; *Census Report* of Mayurbhanj, 1931.

Sr Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
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562 422 [586] Here only cases are different. Should a wife be divorced without any fault of hers, the tribal customs now entitle her to a cow, some paddy and some utensils. These become her personal property. Similarly, the sheaf of paddy that Santal girls reap during the *Sobrae*, their harvest-festival, is stored by her as her personal property. She has the fullest ownership over the money she would get by selling such paddy. The widow without any sons also has her property, in case she is sent to her parent's family.

562 434 But the case of a woman working and earning money presents an interesting problem. Should she be entitled to the fruit of her labour legally? In solving this, a distinction is made between work done by a woman in excess of providing for her own food, and the work, say, of a daughter of the family, ordinarily. In the former case, she is permitted by customary law to save the earning she made, over and above that goes towards her food; but in the latter case, it will go generally to her parents or guardians.

562 423 So far we have discussed the rights of Santal women in regard to the acquisition of movable properties; but when we come to the question of immovable properties, we find the tribal laws are very apathetic towards her, for she has no rights of inheritance or occupancy of lands. The reason

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622 [796] [174] man, together with that of all the other officials, was renewed annually, but there is little reality in it at the present day and the post is held for life. He is the spokesman of the villagers in all matters affecting their temporal welfare. In the original settlements it was usual for two or three brothers to start the new village together. The eldest brother assumed the leading position, and all the lands cleared or claimed for the future were in his gift. The cultivable land was divided equally after some portions had been reserved for the officials in recognition of the services they would be called on to perform for the benefit of the community, and the headman received the biggest share of the reserved land. As the village grew, others came to settle. Some became the tenants of the headman, fleeing from the oppression of landlords elsewhere. Others came into the village by marrying daughters of the first settlers. So it comes about that the family of the headman is the most substantial in the village. During the course of years, however, even the headman has in the majority of cases lost his original rights to a non-Santal landlord and has himself become an under-tenant, in spite of which his family has maintained its favourable position in relation to the rest of the villagers. In some cases he has also been able to acquire the rights of other tenants who have defaulted for one reason or another in paying rent.

622 [434] [689] [224] [585] In addition to land, the headman receives other payments which he can use for his own benefit. Thus, when an offender against tribal custom is fined the headman receives a fourth of the total amount. During the spring hunts he receives a part of the flesh of every animal slain by a man from his own village. During the marriage ceremonies he occupies an important position throughout, and when a new bride is coming to his village her father has to pay a rupee to him before the party sets out from her home. At all times he is treated with [554] great respect, especially by the younger members of the community. A marriage party always pays its respects first at his house, and at festivals, when the young men go dancing through the village street, they start outside the headman's house.

In all matters involving the members of more than one village he is the acknowledged representative of his own people, whether it be the making of arrangements for a marriage or the [627] fixing of dates for festivals and for hunts. In the settling of disputes he acquires considerable experience, being the chairman of [623] the council in his own village and meeting with the headmen of [554] other villages when the hunt council sits. Enjoying a position

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his courtyard after the midday meal used to make sure of rising at the right time by telling his children to waken him when the shadows had reached a certain spot.

During the night the time is indicated not only by the position of the moon but also by the stars, and particularly by reference to the constellation Pleiades. There are at least two myths relating to the sun and the moon. In the one the sun is male and the moon female, while the stars are their children. The absence of the stars from the sky in daytime is explained by a story that they made a pact to eat their children. The sun carried out the bargain and so there are no stars visible by daylight, but the moon evaded her promise and so some of the children survived. The other version says that both the sun and the moon are male; they became related to each other by marrying each other's sisters. Only a few of the stars and constellations are named. The Pleiades have the same name as one of the clans; the Milky Way is known as the "cow track", and the Great Bear is the "old woman's bed".

Between the harvest and the Spring festival, a period which corresponds with the cold weather, the villages present a deserted appearance, due to the annual migration to the east for work in the harvest fields of the Ganges delta. This seasonal migration, dictated by economic necessity, plays an important part in the life of the area. Farther to the north many Santals work in the coal-mines round Asansol, while to the south labour is drawn to the great steel town of Tatanagar. In this area migration to industrial centres is rare; the Santals regard the conditions in industrial towns as highly dangerous to health, and they affirm that nothing will induce them to go there. The same reason, however, does not prevent them from leaving their own villages in a non-malarious tract of country for the malarious rice-growing areas farther east, in consequence of which the money earned is often more than spent in the expenses of protracted illness and long periods of idleness. Each village organizes its own party of migrants, who go to work for the same masters year after year. The wages they receive are more than double what is paid in their own locality, and so they earn the money required to pay rent, to meet social expenditure for marriages, and to pay off old debts. The homes are left in charge of the aged, and some of the children are left behind. The villages are denuded of able-bodied men and women, apart from a few who do not need to go. Family parties travel together, babies and very young children being carried